

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 ACDA-12 /071 W  
-----078315 201144Z /21

P R 200917Z JAN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4524  
INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
USLO PEKING  
COMUSJAPAN YOKOTA  
CINCPAC HONOLULU

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 1037

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O.11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, JA  
SUBJECT: CGP MOVES TOWARD REALISM

SUMMARY. AT CLEAN GOVERNMENT PARTY (KOMEITO-CGP) CONVENTION JAN 11-13, CHAIRMAN TAKEIRI ATTRACTED WIDE PUBLICITY BY FAVORING ACCEPTANCE OF MINIMUM SELF-DEFENSE FORCES NECESSARY TO INSURE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND BY SUGGESTING CAUTION IN ABROAGATING US-JAPAN MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY. BOTH VIEWS ARE AT VARIANCE WITH CURRENT CGP POLICY (AND THT OF SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS) AND CAUSED CONSIDERABLE CONFUSION AMONG ASSEMBLED FAITHFUL. ALTHOUGH THERE HAS BEEN NO FORMAL PARTY POLICY CHANGE, TAKEIRI REMARKS INDICATE DIRECTION TOP PARTY LEADERSHIP WOULD LIKE TO MOVE, MAINLY TO ENHANCE POSSIBILITY OF THEIR PARTICIPATING IN POWER. POSITIONS OUTLINED BY TAKEIRI WOULD BE COMPATIBLE WITH THOSE OF DSP AND, MORE IMPORTANTLY, LDP. TAKEIRI'S  
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STEP WAS DOUBTLESS INVLUENCED BY SUCCESSFUL VISIT OF YANO MISSION TO WASHINGTON (AND CINCPAC) LAST OCTOBER. FOR NEW POLICIES TO TAKE HOLD, HOWEVER, IT WILL BE NECESSARY FOR CGP LEADERSHIP TO EMBARK ON EXTENSIVE SELLING CAMPAIGN WITHIN PARTY AND, EVENTUALLY, HAVE THEIR JUDGMENT BACKED UP AT POLLS. IN MEANTIME, NEW DEPARTURE IS LIKELY TO EXERT SALUTORY, IF SUBTLE,

INFLUENCE ACROSS POLITICAL SPECTRUM. END SUMMARY.

1. FIFTEENTH CGP CONVENTION WAS HELD IN TOKYO JAN 11-13, MAINLY TO DISCUSS PARTY POLICIES FOR 1980'S. FOR FIRST TIME A DSP CHAIRMAN, FUYOSAKU SASAKI, ATTENDED, ALONG WITH SEVERAL TOP LABOR LEADERS INCLUDING SOKYO'S MAKIEDA AND DOMEI'S AMAIKE.

2. CGP CHAIRMAN TAKEIRI'S OPENING ADDRESS ATTRACTED MOST PUBLICITY AND PROVIDED MAJOR THEMES FOR DISCUSSION DURING REMAINDER OF CONVENTION. IN CONTEXT OF NEED TO RESTORE POPULAR CONFIDENCE IN POLITICAL PARTIES, TAKEIRI STRESSED NEED FOR RESPONSIBLE PARTIES WITH REALISTIC POLICIES. HE CALLED FOR PARTIES TO MOVE AWAY FROM IDEOLOGY TO CONSIDER DEMOCRATICALLY PRACTICAL APPROACHES TO "COALITION ERA OF 1980'S." THEN, IN REMARKS WHICH ATTRACTED BROAD PUBLIC NOTICE, TAKEIRI SUGGESTED AS PERSONAL VIEW POSSIBLE BASIS FOR COALITION DISCUSSIONS:

- NEW RULES FOR POLITICAL FUNDING, WHICH MIGHT INCLUDE PUBLIC FINANCING OR EVEN CORPORATE CONTRIBUTIONS TO CERTAIN PARTIES;
- ELECTION SYSTEM REFORM, PARTICULARLY REDISTRICTING TO EQUALIZE REPRESENTATION;
- ACCEPTANCE OF FORCES FOR SELF-DEFENSE IMPLICIT IN RIGHT TO SELF-DEFENSE. REJECTING NOTION OF UNARMED

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NEUTRALITY, TAKEIRI SUGGESTED PARTY CONSIDER SUPPORT FOR MINIMUM LEVEL OF SELF-DEFENSE FORCE STRENGTH NECESSARY TO PROTECT TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND REPEL IMMINENT ILLEGAL INTRUSION:

- CAREFUL CGP CONSIDERATION OF POSSIBLE IMPACT ON ASIA-PACIFIC REGION OF MST ABROGATION. THIS SUGGESTION CAME AFTER FIRST NOTING THAT CURRENT PARTY POLICY CALLED FOR REPLACEMENT OF US-JAPAN MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY (MST) BY TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND NONAGGRESSION THROUGH MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE NEGOTIATIONS.
- PARTY ACCEPTANCE OF NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS AS ESSENTIAL ENERGY SOURCES IN 1980(S).

TAKEIRI ALSO PROPOSED STUDY GROUP TO CONSIDER PROBLEMS OF 1980'S COMPOSED OF POLITICIANS OF ALL PARTIES,

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 1037

ACADEMICIANS, BUSINESS AND LABOR LEADERS.

3. CONVENTION'S SECOND AND THIRD DAYS WERE GIVEN OVER TO DISCUSSIONS OF ABOVE SUGGESTIONS. IT WAS SOON APPARENT THAT MANY AMONG 552 DELEGATES ATTENDING WERE CONFUSED BY NEW APPROACHES, AND THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE OPPOSITION. DIFFERENCES CENTERED ON SELF-DEFENSE FORCE AND MST ISSUES. IN RESPONSE TO DELEGATES' QUESTIONS, CGP SEC GEN YANO STATED THAT TAKEIRI'S PROPOSALS WERE MEANT TO SERVE AS A BASIS FOR COALITION DISCUSSION AND THAT PARTY POLICY HAD NOT CHANGED. YANO NOTED THAT CURRENT PARTY POLICY ON MST (I.E., NEGOTIATED ABROGATION) WAS CONTRARY TO THAT OF DSP, NLC AND LDP AND, INASMUCH AS CGP WISHED TO CREATE COALITION, ABROGATION NEGOTIATIONS COULD NOT BE ENTERED INTO AT COALITION OUTSET. NOT SURPRISINGLY, CONFUSION PERSISTED WITH DELEGATES WONDERING ALOUD WHETHER TAKEIRI VIEWS WERE NOT AT ODDS WITH ESTABLISHED PARTY POLICY AND HOW CGP, A SELF-STYLED REFORMIST  
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PARTY SINCE ITS 1964 INCEPTION, NOW DIFFERED FROM RULING LDP.

4. IN SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS WITH EMBOFF, CGP CHAIRMAN TAKEIRI DESCRIBED NEW DEPARTURE AS MOVE TOWARD

MORE REALISTIC APPROACH, DEMANDED BY PRESENT JAPANESE POLITICAL SITUATION, WHILE SECGEN YANO, MORE BLUNT AS USUAL, SAID IT WAS IN FACT A MOVE TO RIGHT, TOWARD LDP. EXPLAINING BACKGROUND TO EMBOFF, CGP INTERNATIONAL BUREAU CHIEF KUROYANAGI STATED THAT TOP PARTY LEADERS WERE ALL AGREED ON NEED TO MOVE IN MORE REALISTIC DIRECTION, BUT HAD FAILED TO PERSUADE MAJORITY OF CGP CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. OPPONENTS ON COUNCIL WERE MAINLY CONCERNED ABOUT PERCEIVED ELECTION RISKS OF NEW POSTURE ON SELF-DEFENSE FORCES AND MST. HAVING FAILED TO ACHIEVE APPROVAL NECESSARY TO CHANGE PARTY POLICY, FORMALLY, KUROYANAGI CONTINUED, LEADERSHIP DECIDED TO PUT NEW POLICY POSITIONS INTO CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH AND FOCUS MEDIA ATTENTION ON THEM.

5. THEY SUCCEEDED. CONVENTION MEDIA COMMENT DID CENTER ON TAKEIRI'S APPARENT WILLINGNESS TO TALK WITH CONSERVATIVES, "RECOGNITION" OF SELF-DEFENSE FORCES, AND "APPROVAL OF MST, ALL OF WHICH WAS DESCRIBED AS SIGNIFICANT TURNING TO RIGHT BY CGP. PRIMIN FUKUDA AND LDP SECGEN OHIRA WERE QUICK TO PRAISE TAKEIRI STANCE. DSP CHAIRMAN SASAKI ASSERTED THAT ALL OBSTACLES TO DSP-CGP COOPERATION HAD NOW BEEN REMOVED. SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS, HOWEVER, WERE SHARPLY CRITICAL OF TAKEIRI'S VIEWS ON SELF-DEFENSE FORCES AND MST.

6. COMMENT: TAKEIRI'S PROPOSALS WOULD NOT ONLY  
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PERMIT STRENGTHENED TIES WITH DSP, BUT ALSO MAKE COALITION WITH LDP POSSIBLE. THEY TOUCH ON ALL CRUCIAL POINTS: LIMITED ACCEPTANCE OF SELF-DEFENSE FORCES, IMPLICIT SHELIVING OF MST DEBATE, AND EVEN POSSIBLE ASSENT TO CORPORATE POLITICAL FUNDING. IT IS ALSO CLEAR ATTEMPT BY TAKEIRI TO SEIZE OPPOSITION PARTY LEADERSHIP INITIATIVE AT TIME WHEN BOTH DSP AND JSP CHAIRMAN ARE NEW, AND EDA-DEN JSP SPLINTER GROUPS ARE ABOUT TO BE UNITED. IT ALSO SEEMS TO REFLECT GENUINE BELIEF ON PART OF TOP CGP LEADERSHIP THAT PARTY MUST MOVE IN MORE REALISTIC PATHS IF IT IS TO PARTICIPATE IN POLITICAL POWER. MOREOVER, THEY BELIEVE THAT, GIVEN CURRENT STATE OF PUBLIC OPINION AND LIKELY TRENDS, IT WILL PAY OFF IN VOTES.

7. AS DSP CHAIRMAN SASAKI RECENTLY EXPLAINED TO SENATOR KENNEDY, HOWEVER, JAPANESE VOTING PATTERNS DO NOT NECESSARILY FOLLOW TREND OF PUBLIC OPINION. TO LARGE EXTENT THEY REMAIN TIED TO LONG STANDING ORGANIZATIONAL ALLEGIANCES AND, UNTIL RECENTLY

RATHER SHARP DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RULING CONSERVATIVE FORCES AND OPPOSITION REFORMIST PARTIES. GREATER REALISM, CGP OPPONENTS OF CHANGE FEAR, MAY CONFUSE OR EVEN ALIENATE PARTY FAITHFUL ON WHICH CGP ELECTION SUCCESS DEPENDS. INTENSE DEBATE WITHIN CGP IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE OVER NEXT SEVERAL MONTHS, AND WHILE LEADERSHIP IS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT OUTCOME, THERE IS MUCH PERSUASION TO BE DONE. RESOLUTION MAY WELL AWAIT NEXT LOWER HOUSE ELCTION RESULTS.

8. CGP LEADERSHIP'S WILLINGNESS TO TAKE NEW POLICY STEPS, DESPITE SUBSTANTIAL INTRA-PARTY OPPOSITION, WAS DOUBTLESS INFLUENCED BY SUCCESSFUL VISIT OF YANO MISSION TO WASHINGTON (AND CINCPAC) LAST OCTOBER. IN PRESENT SITUATION WHERE OPPOSITION PARTIES ARE VYING FOR UNCOMMITTED VOTE AND CASTING VOICE IN DIET, SENSITIVITY  
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TO ONE ANOTHER'S POLICY SHIFTS IS ALSO  
LIKELY TO RESULT IN CGP POLICY TRENDS HAVING SUBTLE  
IMPACT ACROSS POLITICAL SPECTRUM.  
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## Message Attributes

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